565 554 houses for food. Little could be learned about them either in conversation or from others. Nevertheless, their isolation may not be intentional. One of our assistants had apparently never paid attention to them; after we pointed out their peculiar position, the assistant always made it a point to speak to them whenever he passed them on the street, although no one else did so.

565 571 185 The nearest approach to class groupings is that persons seem to associate mostly with individuals who are their own age mates and of the same economic class. Circumstances were not favorable for detailed studies of association, but there is little doubt that this subjective impression would be verified by such a study. Across this class grouping are at least two others. One centers about the division into progressives and conservatives, words not used in the town, but quickly adopted by our aides when we explained their significance. There seemed little difficulty on the part of anyone,

[text continues on p. 100a]

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565 once he understood the words, in classifying
571 the people he knew in these categories. The
185 second major division is a relatively new one, that between the *cabildo* or ačes in charge of the church *mayordomías* and their followers, and those who oppose this group. The details of this dispute will be given later. Other classifications are essentially those of kinship and the *compadrazgo* system.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIORS

601 Spanish kinship terms are in common use in
[184] Cherán, with very little difference from standard Mexican usage. Many of the Tarascan terms have been forgotten entirely. The few Tarascan terms still remembered are rarely used and no one person knows all these. The terminology secured was obtained by getting several genealogies. After these had been compared and collated, Pedro Chávez spent several weeks in casual inquiries, as a result of which he added several Tarascan terms, most of which are used with the same meaning as the more commonly employed Spanish term. In the charts of the terminology, both terms are given. In a few instances, different terms are employed in the vocative and in indirect discourse. In this case, the vocative term is indicated by (‡). The Cherán Tarascans have very little interest in kinship and the data are presented with little confidence in their significance (figs. 12 (see p. 99), 13, 14, 15).

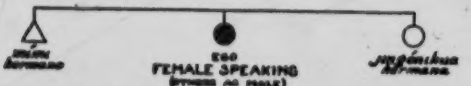

FIGURE 13.—Cherán kinship, female speaking. This chart shows only the differences from the terms used by the male. For all relatives not shown the female uses the male terms.

The nomenclature as it exists today is absolutely bilateral. There are also no distinctions based on relative age. In the Tarascan terms a few distinctions are made in the sibling group based on the sex of the speaker. The brothers of parents are occasionaly called *papá;* this was once more common. No such practice was recorded for the sisters of parents. The term "abuelo" (a)[29] is extended to the brothers and

[29] The "o" ending is masculine, the "a" feminine.

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632 Persons who are shocked at the procedures
662 at Cherán should seriously contemplate the
666 difficulties in carrying out a formal election
212 with written ballots with a population which is very largely illiterate. In this case economic limitations and lack of imagination prevented carrying out the system used in national elections where the candidates each select a color and separate ballots are printed in the different colors. The voter then asks for his ballot by color and drops it into the ballot box. Not secret, and lending itself to ballot box stuffing, the method is at least an attempt to deal with the problem of an illiterate electorate. In a town such as Cherán the method followed in the election described seems equally efficacious—as long as the officials are responsive to public opinion.

632 That unconventionalities are frequent in elec-
665 tions is further illustrated by the presidential
666 elections earlier in the same year. Many months before the election a group of Almazán followers organized and began an active campaign in the town. The followers of Camacho (the PRM group) remained inactive. At the end of 2 or 3 months a PRM delegation waited on the Almazán followers and pointed out that there had been no interference with their campaign but that nevertheless the bulk of the town favored Camacho. The facts were apparently indisputable, and when the PRM group stressed the fact that further campaigning could only result in creating divisions and dissensions in the town, the Almazán group ceased its campaign. At the election, Cherán cast a unanimous ballot for Camacho.

● 185 Two things of interest emerge from this
666 account. The first is the power of the argument against disunity in the community. Particularly in the Indian community, unity is prized almost above all else. Sophisticated in some ways as Cherán is, this argument is still one of the most potent that can be made. The second point of interest is the bearing this sequence of events has on interpretation of the national election returns in Mexico. What happened in Cherán probably happened in hundreds of other towns in Mexico and helps partly to explain the one-sided results usually reported in Mexican elections.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.120a]

578 the town. Continuing his remarks, the former
177 mayor also said that the priests seem not to
793 want people to understand the prayers and rituals. He then went on to point out how different conditions are in the United States, where he had spent some years, and entered into a discussion of the reasons for the differences.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

527 The most important rituals and recreational events at Cherán are the fiestas. They are not, however, intimately connected today with the Church. It might be fair to say that the saints' days are the excuses for holding the major fiestas. All the large fiestas are accompanied by special Masses, but the extent of church connection is perhaps less than that involved in the *mayordomías*. Essentially, the fiestas are secular events with religious overtones. All the major fiestas are conducted by the municipal authorities, rather than by the church. They are important commercial events in the town, especially the fiesta of the patron saint. They also provide a great deal of entertainment. In general, they offer occasions for making the major purchases of the year, showing hospitality, overdrinking, and for the excitement of large crowds and release from routine. Only a few people find the religious aspects of importance, even though they may attend the Mass.

In some towns the fiestas are in disrepute and have been abolished. In Cherán there is no opposition to the fiestas on religious grounds, but primarily on grounds of drunkenness. As one solid farmer remarked—

[185] The bad part of the fiestas is that people get so very drunk; you have seen how the women become more disorderly than any (I had not observed this as a general thing, by any means). The worst is where the fiesta is too large, as in Cheranástico, where three bands are employed although the town is small. People there have to pay 13 to 15 pesos per family. Also bad is when *carygueros* have to pay the entire cost of the fiestas. Here the fiesta costs only 1 or 2 pesos per person (family).

Such views are unusual in Cherán and, except for efforts to introduce such novelties as basketball games, the progressive administration takes pride in perpetuating the conduct of the fiestas on a grand scale.

2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 18a] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 years. Therefore, men who own land in only
311 one 'plain' plant only every other year. Conse-
621 quently, everyone tries to have land in at least two 'plains'."[47]

Similarly in Jarácuaro, the whole island is divided into two sections which are alternately cultivated.

West describes this system as general in the Sierra.[48]

[609] Given this system of cultivation, the resistance against selling land to outsiders is easily understandable as all farmers have to work in close agreement. Any outsider using his land in a different way would disrupt the whole system.

This question of disintegrative versus
K82 conservative tendencies within the villages
621 can also be discussed in relation to a sub-
438 sistence economy or a market economy. No
433 doubt, in proportion as production is for consumption within the village, the easier it is for the community to hold its own against disrupting influences; the more it is intended for a larger market, the more likely it is that outside influences will penetrate the life of the community.

439 The connection of any Tarascan village
433 economy, whether agricultural or depending on crafts, to the national and world markets is undisputed and has been set forth clearly.[49] Part of the agricultural products, practically all handicrafts, and a sizable amount of labor are sold out by producers, while most consumption goods are bought from outside, with the exception of part of the food (housing and clothing to a much lesser extent). However, production of food, mainly corn for the villagers' own consumption, is basic to the economy of the villages and their relation to the national economy. This fact determines their attitude toward land and corn.

423 Land is the most desired form of property
435 and the safest way of investing money, because of the security it will give as a source
● [185] of corn. The ability to produce one's own corn is the supreme aspiration of every farmer.

433 An analysis of agricultural economics
241 shows that farming on poor land in Cherán (a prosperous farming town) and Tzintzuntzan is done at a loss; that is, production costs (equipment, taxes, labor, etc.) are greater than the value of the crop.[50] Owners of such lands could earn more by hiring out as laborers than by working their own fields.[51] This way of farming

47. Beals, 1946, 20.
48. West, 1948, 29.
49. Beals, 1946, 56-9; Foster, 1948, 143-6, 229-90.
50. Foster, 1948, 78-8, table 14; Beals, 1946, 65-6.
51. Foster, 1948, 78.